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A D D R E S S

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

MASSACHUSETTS

CHARITABLE MECHANIC ASSOCIATION,

ON THE OCCASION OF THEIR

SIXTH EXHIBITION,

SEPTEMBER 19, 1850.

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BY J. S. SKINNER,

Editor of The Plough, the Loom, and the Anvil.

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BOSTON:

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BOSTON, SEPTEMBER 20, 1850.

JOHN S. SKINNER, Esq.,

Dear Sir:—At a meeting of the Board of Managers, of the Sixth Exhibition of Manufactures and the Mechanic Arts, under the auspices of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, held this day, the following Vote was unanimously adopted, and the undersigned were appointed a Committee to transmit the same to you, and to solicit a compliance with the request.

Truly yours,

HENRY N. HOOPER, }
OSMYN BREWSTER, } *Committee.*
F. W. LINCOLN, JR., }

Voted, That the thanks of the Board of Managers be presented to John S. Skinner, Esq., of Philadelphia, for the able and sound address, upon the interest of American Labor, delivered by him, last evening, and that a Committee be appointed to request a copy of the same, to be published with the Report of the Sixth Exhibition.

BOSTON, SEPTEMBER 23, 1850.

GENTLEMEN:

The Address, delivered at the instance of your Association, and so politely solicited for publication, is herewith respectfully submitted with all its imperfections. I should hope the doctrine it inculcates is "sound," as you say, for it is that which I am disseminating every month, through "*The Plough, the Loom, and the Anvil*," literally, from Nova Scotia to California, and not without some hope of effect, if I may judge from the spirit in which it is called for, by new subscribers to that journal.

The great obstacles to the adoption and establishment of the political economy, advocated in this address, are, I apprehend, the remaining effects of colonial subjection to the mother country, and party prejudice, still more obstinate and difficult of removal. In all this I may be mistaken, and am at all times open to conviction, seeking only to find and to embrace the naked truth; and therefore in my editorial capacity, proclaiming and acting on the motto, "hear both sides."

Very respectfully, Gentlemen, and with a grateful sense of your polite attentions,

I remain,

Your obed't serv't,

J. S. SKINNER.

Messrs. HENRY N. HOOPER,
OSMYN BREWSTER,
F. W. LINCOLN, JR.

ADDRESS.

MUCH as I esteem the honor of having been repeatedly invited to address the Yeomanry of Massachusetts, on the interests of Agriculture, believe me, my friends, I feel no less flattered in being called on to appear here in behalf of another great and kindred branch of your domestic industry. But as the philosophy, the beneficence, and the moral beauty of your admirable association, have been so well illustrated on previous occasions, even by an Everett and other sons of Massachusetts, eminent for their learning, patriotism and rhetoric; may I not hope that you will now listen with kind forbearance to a very plain discourse; in which it shall be my endeavor without disguise and without ornament, to show, that if all our great branches of industry be not in fact identical, they are yet so blended, and so necessary to each other, that whatever act or policy shall pollute the fountain of the one, must necessarily impair the healthful action and flow of all the others. So truly may the Plough say of the Loom and the Ship, "This is bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh," so near is their relationship, that in my judgment it is impossible freely and fairly to advocate the prosperity of one, without pleading the cause of them all.

And now gentlemen, as it is one of the most characteristic and promising features, in the condition of New England, that no man nor woman either, has any time to throw away, let us, without further preliminary, inquire, what is the origin of all industrial associations like yours, and how do they tend to improve the arts, and to meliorate the condition of social life? Why, Mr. President, they all have their head spring, in that natural tendency of individuals to combine their powers for mutual security and happiness, which is seen to exist throughout all animated nature; not only among men, but with the very insects and birds of the air, and the beasts of the field, when they are left without disturbance, to indulge their natural propensities. This gregarious disposition is, indeed, a seed wisely planted by the Almighty hand itself, and is essential, not only to cement and hold the social fabric together, but to improve every art, whether it be your mechanical art, to which we owe the most useful contrivances, or the finer ones that embody and illustrate the most fanciful designs that imagination can conceive. So universal indeed is this inclination of men to associate for common safety and enjoyment, that whenever it is frustrated, and they are seen to scatter and disperse themselves, leaving their hearths and homes to seek subsistence abroad, you may at once presume there is some pernicious influence at work;—some defect in the political machinery,—just as you see the inmates of a hive agitated and embarrassed, when their tenement is stricken by a stone from some unseen hand.

Thus the farmer every where rejoices in the building of the neighboring grist-mill, by which he is enabled more readily to convert his grain into flour—in the building of the saw-mill, which enables him to convert his trees into boards. He rejoices too at the building of the fulling

mill, which at once opens for him a market for his wool, and the labor of his wife and daughters, otherwise comparatively unprofitable, is rendered productive by their assisting to convert the wool into cloth.

In like manner the sugar planter needs his mill, and the cotton planter his gin; and if in these cases, the farmer and planter, are benefited by the existence of the requisite manufacturing machinery close at hand, are not the various mechanics, manufacturers and operatives, employed in the construction and use of such machinery, also benefited by the proximity and abundance of supplies and materials for their subsistence and labor? Thus enabling each, by his vicinity to the other, to obtain more and more of all that he wants, while giving in exchange therefor less and less of his own time and labor, leaving him, of course, more of both, for the improvement and use of his own machinery;—whether that be the land, the great machine of production; or some of the lighter machines and contrivances employed for converting into available forms, the products of the land.

“The habit of association,” says Mr. Carey in “The PAST, the PRESENT, and the FUTURE,” “is the essential characteristic of self government. Without that, it can have no existence. In the United States, the type of the whole system is found in what is called the “BEE,” the union of the old settlers on the frontiers to put up a log house for the newly arrived family. Starting from that point, it may be found in every operation of life. The logs are to be rolled, the roof of the barn is to be raised, or the corn is to be husked. Forthwith, all assemble, and the work which to the solitary laborer would have been severe, and often impossible, is made “a frolic of,” and an hour or two of combined exertion accomplishes what otherwise would have required weeks or months.”

Thus, my friends, it is everywhere seen, as I have said that the sense of self interest itself, as wisely directed prompts the desire to combine our actions with those of our fellow-men; and the greater the facility of combination, the greater is the reward to labor. Great industrial enterprises, are thus placed within the associated power of men of moderate means, that would otherwise be unattempted, or monopolized by the few; and hence the beneficence of those general laws which in some states, facilitate association, chiming in with the behests of Providence itself. Did time permit, in a discourse like this, to illustrate general principles by reference to particular facts, there is yet no community in the world, which stands less in need, than does this audience, of proofs, to show how lands appreciate, how social and domestic comforts are augmented among the masses, how education is improved and diffused, how the arts advance; in a word, how every interest and every class is benefited, when public policy and public institutions favor the natural tendency of the manufacturer to sit down by the side of the agriculturist. The progress of manufacturing industry in Massachusetts, and the comparison of her condition now with what it was even twenty years ago, (scarcely a span in the life of a State,) in commerce, population and wealth, so clearly demonstrate the wisdom of such a policy, and the beneficial results of such institutions, that to prove them by facts which must be familiar to all who hear me, would be more than superfluous, for I should be trespassing on your time, the very preciousness of which proves how much life itself is enhanced, where *combination takes the place of dispersion*. It is only people of one idea, and of one pursuit, who have time to throw away. And here may I not ask, where, in what principle of our nature, do we find a more adorable display of the all

pervading wisdom and goodness of the great Creator of all? But for this sense of mutual dependence, and the adaptation of the hand to the use of tools and machinery, what would have been at this day, the condition of the world? But, my friends, how can any great interest be meliorated—how can any art make steady progress towards its attainable perfection, when those engaged in it cannot feel assured of uniform and reasonable reward for their labors, whether of the body or the mind? When in fact, under an ever fluctuating public policy, their hopes are repressed, and their energies paralysed, by the constant apprehension that their utmost skill and industry may be superseded by the products of foreign subjects, staggering under a load of taxes, and destined to toil, not like christians merely, to whom it is appointed to live by the sweat of their brow, but barely to exist, like ill used beasts of burden, and more often than they, perishing by thousands for the want of bread? Hopeless poverty is ever reckless. It is only when they can describe some chance of accumulation, beyond the bare necessities of life, that men become provident and ingenious, and social progress is secure.

To show how perfect is the sympathy between all the great branches of national industry, and how impossible it is for one pursuit to prosper and go forward to a high degree of development, no matter how redundant may be the light thrown on the practice of it; while others are languishing around it, I may mention here, that for more than thirty years, have I been myself engaged in humble, but most earnest efforts, to disseminate a knowledge of the most improved modes of cultivation, the most valuable manures, and the best formed animals, machinery and implements. For that purpose, I established without any promise of support, the first agricultural pe-

riodical ever published in the Union, and for many years maintained an active correspondence with the most eminent friends of Agriculture, at home and abroad; among others, referring to that time, with your own lamented Parsons and Phinney, and Pickering and Lowell, now departed, and with the patriotic Gov. Lincoln, Mr. Derby, Gen. Dearborn, the venerable Quincy, Major Jacques, and others, still spared to practise and to adorn an art, which has been aptly termed "the mother and nurse of all the arts." Yet must I frankly admit that *I misapprehended the great cause of agricultural decline*, for notwithstanding all my efforts, and those of much abler coadjutors, it has been my lot to meet with painful and continued disappointment. In Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, South Carolina, and other of the old states, judging by the average acreable yield of their great staples, agriculture has been gradually and constantly going backwards. In all of them, the aggregate subtraction from, has exceeded the addition made to the productive capacity of their lands; and of course the result is proportionate exhaustion. In fact, in all the states, the condition of Agriculture has been retrograde except in New England, and here it did not advance, until the people had the sagacity and fortitude to take advantage of the opportunities afforded by the protective policy, while that lasted, *to place the Loom and the Anvil by the side of the Plough and the Harrow*. Here, as far as I have seen, men have embarked in every variety of industry favoring the natural tendency to associate, and hence in despite of the fickle countenance of Government, who that has a head to conceive what is useful and a heart to appreciate what is beautiful and good, can have failed to be delighted with the magnificent display of American manufactures and mechanical ingenuity we have witnessed at this splendid exhibi-

tion? And while these useful arts have exhibited such exquisite proofs of advancement under occasional encouragement, I ask emphatically what other interest has suffered? Have not your rocky and barren fields been made to blossom as the rose? Have not your mechanics, manufacturers, ploughmen and fishermen, freighted your ships for every sea? Is it not, in a word, by your diversity of pursuits, and promptness of association to combine your powers, that without coal, and without cotton, without wool, and without leather, without iron, and without timber, you are contriving to supply the "free trade" advocate of the South with his cotton and woolen clothing, his pegged boots and shoes, his rakes and pitchforks, his ploughs and his axes? The citizen of Massachusetts is now, or was recently living, who invented and made the first pegged boot or shoe ever worn, and now your manufacture of that article alone, amounts to \$18,000,000, and gives employment, clothing, sustenance and education to 60,000 men, women and children. But be not persuaded that your recent growth in population and wealth, so much excelling that of the South, has resulted from the absence among you, of their "peculiar institutions," rather than from that diversity of employment and facilities for association which always engender each other. To prove how cordial is the connexion between the railroad, the loom and the plough, how they assist each other and how their co-existence in the same locality promotes the growth of population and power, it would be all sufficient, if time and your patience would permit, to run a brief parallel between New England and certain Southern States, in which it would be clearly seen, how they continued for many years to leave you further and further in their wake, until lately, comparatively speaking, you wisely took advantage of the protective policy, rather

forced upon you, than sought by you, and calling in the aid of steam and railroads, and other labor saving machinery, added at once the productive power of millions of men, to your natural capabilities ! My notes would supply materials for such a parallel, but as I well know how much easier it is to command attention to inflammatory appeals to party passions, than to the sober discussion of more substantial and important topics, let us proceed with showing how cordial is the harmony between the plough, the loom and the ship, and how essential is protection to the prosperity of them all. Surely nothing can be needed to convince you, that wherever consumers, prosperous manufacturers and mechanics, and all the branches employed in the various industries that come into existence under advanced civilization, are not at hand, the farmer is compelled to waste, on the road, and in distant markets, his own precious time and the refuse of the products of his land, in search of customers ; whereas when the producer and consumer are brought together, the farmer is enabled readily to return to the land the whole of its refuse ; and his land and himself grow richer, instead of poorer. Now, the profits that before were wasted on the road, in commissions to factors and agents, and ship owners, and in waiting for a better market, are all saved and given to the work of improved cultivation. Who then, as I am constantly asking in my journal, are so much interested, as the cultivators of the soil, in a policy that shall concentrate population and give steady encouragement and protection to the *domestic industry of the country* ?

My attention having been thus called to these important facts, I found in them a key to the whole mystery. I had no further difficulty in understanding why it was, that notwithstanding the formation of so many agricultural societies, appearing and departing like the ghosts in

Richard's dream, notwithstanding the circulation of so many able papers, now devoted to their improvement, Southern and Western lands were less and less productive. When the physician takes his place at the bedside of the patient, the first thing is to examine the *symptoms* of the malady. If he does not, or cannot understand these, a quack would do as well as he, and the noble science of medicine would soon become but a vile empiricism. Looking deeper into the cause of our agricultural disorder in States where all are engaged in one occupation, I saw at once that I had mistaken the nature of the complaint, and that if I would benefit the farmers and the planters of the Union, (the anxious study of my whole life), *I must at once change my mode of teaching*; and accordingly, my friends, I forthwith established "THE PLOUGH, THE LOOM AND THE ANVIL," a monthly journal, with a view to show, both to the farmer and planter, that if they would permanently improve their land, and their own condition, they could do it only by the adoption of such measures, as would prompt and enable the people to diversify their employments, bringing the consumers,—those engaged in other useful occupations,—to their side; thus producing concentration instead of dispersion; and making, of immigrants and of natives, customers at home, instead of sending them away to become their rivals at the plough in the West. To this object, and this mode of teaching, through this channel, I expect to devote the residue of my life; throughout which I may be permitted to say, it has been my unceasing desire to be *useful to the great industrial pursuits of my own countrymen*. Whether, and how long, the public patronage will enable me to keep open and maintain this hitherto unattempted laborious and expensive effort, to teach the true doctrine to the

farmer and the manufacturer, the planter and the grazier, the commercial and the professional man, showing them all how, "all discord's harmony well understood," all are benefited by protection to domestic industry, remains to be seen. But let us return directly to our subject.

The first and great pursuit of man is agriculture, the great science of *production*. The gristmill and the cotton mill, and other mechanical inventions, would be useless were men deprived of the plough and the harrow; whereas the latter would be useful, were the burr stone and the spindle yet unknown.

The second pursuit of man is the science of *conversion*, demanding the offices of the mechanic and manufacturer, to put the productions of the earth into available forms for social and domestic use. The wheat must be converted into flour, and thence into bread, before it can be eaten. The logs must be converted into boards to fit them for the carpenter. The wool must be converted into cloth before it can be worn. The ore and the fuel must be converted into iron, before it can be used to plough the ground. The advantage of the gristmill at hand, is that it diminishes the labor required for converting the products of the earth, and enables the farmer to give more labor to increasing the quantity of his products. And such, my friends, is the advantage derived from the proximity of all the mechanical pursuits, to the great machine of production, the land; and whatever favors and rewards increase of productiveness, by the saving of time to be devoted to it, and by ensuring compensation for the labor bestowed on it, increases commerce of which the productions of the land constitute the basis and material. These industrial arrangements and relations to which I have referred, econo-

mize labor that may be given to the work of production, and hence it is that when the consumer and the producer take their places by the side of each other, as in your State, we see agricultural implements and the cultivation of the earth so perfect, and all the materials and elements of domestic and external commerce so much multiplied.* But when the farmer is compelled to depend on foreign and distant manufacturers and mechanics, and other consumers of his commodities, the labor and expense of himself and horses and other modes of transportation are so great, that he is unable to give to his land, the labor and capital required for its proper cultivation and improvement, and his land and himself are exhausted together. Furthermore where pursuits are various and population thick, men may train all their children to some useful and sustaining industrial occupation—but where all are at the plough, as in some of the States to which I have referred, parents must exhaust their means, in sending their children to distant schools to be boarded and educated, far away from that best of all teachers for health and morals; the sleepless watchfulness of the mother—or they must keep them at home deprived of the best of all earthly blessings,—a good ed-

* For the following, with other facts, I am indebted to that accomplished Statistician, Nahum Capen, Esq.—and both to him and to Mr. Breck, proprietor of the Agricultural Warehouse, for many interesting suggestions, which occasions will offer to employ usefully.

TONNAGE OF BOSTON.

In 1810, it was—149,121. It did not double until 1850, or in a period of 40 years.

In 1846, it was 240,172, and in 1849, it was 296,890—an increase of nearly 24 per cent. in three years, at which rate it would double in less than ten years.

The tonnage of MASSACHUSETTS AND MAINE together, was in 1810—495,203. It doubled in 1848—being 1,074,914. It doubled in *thirty-eight* years.

In 1846 it was 875,974, and in 1849 it was 1,103,387—an increase of about 26 per cent. in three years—at which rate it would double in *nine* years!

ucation,—and alas ! too often compelled to let them go at last to become their rivals in the far West, instead of remaining to be their safest and best friends and companions in their own neighborhood—for, in such states, practical agriculture, and that not in its highest forms, is the only pursuit with which the rising generations have any chance of becoming at all familiar !

One fruitful source of prejudice against the encouragement of manufacturers, is the idea of *antagonism between manufactures and commerce* ; whereas the very reverse is the truth. Unfortunately, however, for the cause of truth, in the common acceptation, commerce is too much and too exclusively associated with the idea of *navigation and shipping* ; while the fact is that commerce has its origin in the rudest state of society, before ships and sailors are dreamed of, and is in fact merely the exchange of one sort of produce or service, for some other produce or service, and the further those are separated, between whom these exchanges take place, and the less their labor is divided and diversified, the less there is of commerce. It has been said, and I believe truly, that these exchanges of labor and services, in other words, the commerce of the world, in its true practical signification—in the light in which legislators should regard it, consists very much in these proportions :

Within families, - - -	50 per cent.
In neighborhoods, - - -	25 “ “
Beyond the neighborhood, but	·
within the nation, - - -	20 “ “
With foreign nations, - - -	5 “ “

Total, - - - 100 “ “

Yes, Sir, the truth is, that every combined action is an act of commerce or trade. The husband raises the food

and the wife cooks it. He raises the wool and she converts it into cloth. He helps his neighbor to roll his log and his neighbor aids him to roll his log in turn. Look at the amount of commerce that accompanies the production of any one of the superb specimens of home manufacture to be seen at your exhibition—so numerous and so perfect, as at once to confound with their variety and to dazzle with their brilliancy and their excellence. Take any single specimen of finished manufacture,—trace, for instance, the housewife's scissors or the mower's scythe, from the rude undigested ore in the mine, until finished and polished for use; follow the fur from the beaver, through Genin's factory, to the head of the "Swedish Nightingale;" or the wool from the flocks of Western Pennsylvania or the prairies of Illinois, to the beautiful shawls as they come to your Exhibition, from the Bay State Mills and other factories, rivaling in softness and fineness of texture the most finished productions of the Scottish loom; accompany your silk vest, from the spinings of the first mechanic, the loathsome worm, to its being sent to you a finished "article," from the merchant tailor; consider through how many hands every manufactured commodity must pass, making at every stage in the process of manufacture, a subject of commerce, or exchange of labor, increasing in value, and yielding support to domestic industry at every step in their transformation, nor ending even when cast off as worn out and worthless; for even then the residuum, after serving sometimes the most elegant, sometimes the basest uses, is gathered up and passed from the ragman to the paper maker, and by him cleansed and made to re-appear and be used, peradventure, as the messenger of war, or it may be of love! Now only follow out this fair and genuine idea of *commerce*, and see how universally the farm-

er and the planter, the manufacturer and the mechanic, the shepherd, the grazier, the victualler, the coal heaver and the iron miner, are all engaged in the most useful sort of commerce, commerce among ourselves, even more than the stevedore, the sailor and the shipper! How erroneous, not to say absurd then, does not that doctrine appear, which would teach us to transmit the raw materials of manufacture to foreign and distant nations, surrendering this vast amount of domestic commerce, in the transactions of which millions are deriving support from each other, exchanging labor for labor? How absurd, I say, that doctrine that would persuade us to neglect all this and to regard free trade with other nations, as the great object, the *summum bonum*, to be cared for and guarded, in our legislative policy!

Commerce could not exist without a division of employments, and the more advanced the state of society, the greater will be that division, and hence the expediency of laws that tend to foster, (against the competition of depressed and half paid foreign labor,) all the branches of industry for which we have the climate and materials. And do not our almost boundless limits and wonderful variety and abundance of natural resources, with unavigable rivers flowing eternally through regions adapted to the growth of every climate—thus supplying in abundance the materials of internal commerce, and relieving us from dependence on foreign nations;—do not these extraordinary means and advantages, indelibly inscribed in the book of our destiny by the hands of Providence, indicate as of his will our duty to cultivate and rely on our own resources, to cherish our domestic industry, and to leave other and more restricted nations to come and seek to buy of us, instead of wandering like peddlers over the world, in search of customers? Sir,

what Yankee cannot readily appreciate the vast difference in the ordinary dealings and transactions of life, between crying your own commodities for sale over the country, asking, "how much will you give," and being applied to by him who wants to buy, with the inquiry "how much will you take?"

Well, then, as it is with individuals, so is it with nations. By a wise policy we can make at home the best market for every thing we can produce, and force other nations to come to us to buy, instead of going to them to sell. The nearer the place of conversion can be brought to the place of production, the greater must be the commerce among men; whether that exchange be in acts of neighborly kindness and beneficence, or in the exchange of labor or of commodities; and the more distant the producer from the consumer, the less must be the power either to produce or to effect exchanges of either labor or its products; the less must be the power to render those services to each other, which, like the charities of this association, are twice blessed, blessing him that gives and him that takes. Yes, my friends, it is to combination of action, and diversity of employment, the precious fruits of encouragement to domestic industry, however vacillating, without which there could be no commerce, domestic or external, that you owe your fine roads, your schools, your mills, your churches, your houses, your ships, your railroads, your books, your newspapers, your pears that sell for fifty cents a dozen, and your grapes, to be had every month in the year, and that sometimes command two dollars a pound. It is to that, that in spite of your sterile soil and inhospitable climate, you make, as I see in every quarter of the city, displays of fruit and flowers, to be found no where else in the Union; and yet, the price of them all shows that the supply is short of the

demand, for demand in this case as in all others, like the green eyed monster jealousy, "makes the meat it feeds on." The power of consumption always increases with protection to labor.

Such my friends, is the idea of commerce, and when I speak of agriculture, manufactures and commerce, as aiding and aided by each other, it is to such commerce as that which I describe, that I wish you to understand me as referring.

Far different is the notion embraced in what is called "free trade." To buy in the cheapest market, and to sell in the dearest, constitutes the whole philosophy of the modern political economy, taught, I much regret to say, in too many of our own colleges, even in New England. The apostle of the modern school, Mr. McCulloch, assures us, that labor, applied to the work of transportation, is quite as productive of the good things of the world, as that applied directly to the work of production; and that it is a matter of perfect indifference whether the food and the wool, are converted or manufactured on the spot, or transported together thousands of miles, to be there converted and brought back again, to be finally consumed where the raw materials were produced, even although it be made evident, as it has been repeatedly done in *The Plough, the Loom and the Anvil*, that the producer of cotton, for example, obtains in the manufacture of it, the value of but one bale in exchange for five, the remaining four, being given for cost of transportation, and commissions to factors and agents, at home and abroad, and for the use of the simple and easily transported spindle and loom, which being once placed in the country where the cotton is produced, would require no further transportation; whereas the cotton, the wool, and the food consumed by those employed in the manufac-

ture, and which makes so large a portion of the value of the articles manufactured in foreign countries, after the work of transportation has been performed for a hundred years, would equally require to be transported in the hundred years succeeding.

Is it not obvious then, that this system is entirely adverse to that combination of action and exchange of labor, so essential to the perfection of the mechanical and every other art ; and of course, also, adverse to the maintenance of commerce and growth of population ? That it is so, may be seen from the trivial amount of commerce and the slow growth of countries that are compelled to submit to the British system, of buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market. India has been ruined, so are the West Indies,—Ireland is a living monument of the desolating character of the system which causes the consumer to live at a distance from the producer, and compels the cultivator of the earth to exhaust his land, and waste the miserable produce on the road, and in distant markets.

The commerce of all those countries is insignificant.* So it is in Canada, which now seeks permission under what is delusively called a “reciprocity act,” to sell her food in our market, because under the system that is called “free trade,” she can have no market of her own. The

*A Society called the Irish Ameliorating Society has lately been formed in that country, the object of which is to carbonize Irish peat bog as an immediate deodoriser and a valuable manure. One of the benevolent gentlemen concerned, describes the eagerness of the poor people to get work,—wherever they come to open new stations. He says—“The moment the poor peasantry heard of our arrival, they crowded around us and implored us to give them work. Hearing that they would be remembered according to their exertions, they set themselves to work in earnest, commencing their labors throughout the summer at 4 o'clock in the morning, and continuing to work throughout the day, half fed, in a state of semi-nudity and barefooted, on the peat bog, until 8 o'clock in the evening,”—making 16 hours a day ; and we are required to under work these people or go to the great workshop of the world for our cloth and iron !

manure is wasted on the road. Their lands are exhausted. The power of combination has there no existence. If they need canals or roads, they must have guarantees in England. They have no manufactures, few banking associations, few schools, scarcely any printing presses, and all the paper manufactured in Upper Canada in a year, would not supply the newspaper press of this city for a week, if even for a day. Such are the benefits of the system that seeks to make England "the workshop of the world," and to enforce it over the world, she maintains immense fleets and armies; and while Cobden, McCulloch, McGregor, and others of that school, here and there, are teaching the blessings of "buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market," however distant, she is taxing a single product of American Agricultural industry, as much as this republican country pays for its military establishment.—That is, as much as would construct more than 700 miles of railroad annually; and quite as much as ought to defray, the whole expense of government. This musty, but plausible old maxim, of buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest markets, nominally, wherever they may be found, was represented thirty years ago in remonstrances to Congress, and in letters to Agricultural Societies by the Agricultural Societies of Massachusetts and Virginia, as the very quintessence, the double refined extract of a wise political economy. While you, in the mean time, have seen the error of your ways and fortunately taken some steps backwards, Virginia persists to the present hour, in urging "free trade" "free trade," as the women through the streets, cry "cherries, cherries," not knowing where to find purchasers. And what is her position now? Throughout the whole State, the average of her great staple crop, wheat, is considerably below the quantity, per acre, de-

signated by one of her most successful and distinguished agriculturists, Col. Taylor, as necessary to defray the bare expenses of cultivation, and her federal power is on the wane; while as to you, since the spindle was made to sing in your ears, the hammer to ring on your anvils, since the jack plane and the trowel, the awl and needle, have been made to do their work in your midst, and above all, since you have harnessed the steam horse, equivalent in productive power to thousands of men added to your population, hear your own great senator, if he may be called yours, who is justly the pride of the whole country, triumphantly and truly declaring to the assembled representatives of the nation,—“Massachusetts, one of the smallest states in the Union, circumscribed within the limits of 8,000 square miles of barren, rocky and sterile country, possesses within her limits, at this moment, a million of people. With the same ratio of population, New York would contain nearly six millions, and Virginia more than seven millions. What are the occupation and pursuits of such a population in so small a territory? A very small portion of them live by the tillage of the land.”

Let those who would learn how that best of all teachers, experience, will sometimes confute the most plausible theories, read a letter addressed, at the instance of the old Massachusetts Agricultural Society, to kindred associations throughout the country, against protection then sought to American manufactures—written in all the lucidness and vigor that distinguished the productions of his pen, by one, whose name and enlightened public spirit consecrates this noble Institute, and published twenty-seven years ago, by him who now addresses you; according perfectly with simultaneous remonstrances from Agricultural Societies in Virginia in favor of “free trade.”

The letter of Mr. Lowell to which I refer was justly regarded at the time, as a condensed and powerful argument to prove what it asserted, to wit:—"that the whole history of modern nations, since commerce has been well understood, and the principles of it settled, proves that the wealth and prosperity of nations *depend chiefly on the facility* with which what is raised in one nation, of any commodity, more than it needs, is exchanged for the produce of another." Virginia has continued to practice what she preached, and where is she? Massachusetts determined to make the most of what she considered a bad bargain, and where is she? But there are signs that, under wiser counsels, better times are coming for the old Dominion. In gratitude to God, she owes it to herself, to develop resources more rich and various than any state in the Union possesses.—*So mote it be!*

Had the politicians and public men of Virginia united in teaching the doctrine inculcated in "*The Plough, the Loom, and the Anvil*," and which I have every reason to believe is now being there eagerly adopted,—the doctrine which accords with the declaration of Mr. Jefferson, in 1816, to Mr. Austin of this city, that we "should now plant the manufacturer by the side of the agriculturist,"—a policy, in a word, that would facilitate, instead of frustrating the association of individual industry and power and capital; had Virginia done this, her forges would now be in full blast, her coal mines would be yielding millions of bushels, the whistle of the engine would break the monotonous sound of her vast, but now valueless mountain cataracts; for then her railroads would connect the noble rivers of the seaboard with her ever green mountains and fertile valleys beyond them; the flocks on her hills would be to her as mines of gold, more enduring than the mines of California; immigrants,

tempted by certain reward to labor, would be coming by thousands, to occupy and animate the most delightful region of the world, abounding to profusion in all the natural elements of prosperity and power ;—to sum up all in one word, she would be advancing, as you are, in wealth and federal numbers. Providence in his munificence, would seem to have ordained such a glorious destiny to the old Dominion, in requital for her noble and generous territorial relinquishments ; but, alas, though “ God has made man upright, they (politicians) have sought out many inventions.” The same may be applied, though in smaller measure, to the State of New York.

It was to emancipate ourselves from this system of being compelled to go “ home ” for our boots and shoes, our saddles and bridles, and even for our hob nails, to the great workshop of the world ; a system, which, even to the present hour, so binds us in colonial vassalage to England, that within the last year we have sent to her for 173,000 tons of iron, and very recently the Edinburgh Review has openly declared that “ America is but a colony of England in a mature state,”—it was, I say, to emancipate ourselves from this one sided system, that Massachusetts and Virginia united,—your Adamses and her Lees, your Hancock and her Jefferson, your Otis and her Henry, to make a revolution, so disagreeable, at the time, to “ British public opinion.” True, the struggle ended in *nominal* independence. But such is the force of habit and of filial reverence, in most cases so admirable, that never, even to this day, have we been completely weaned, and taught to rely on, and to use our own powers and resources.

An individual mind may be converted in a day or an hour ; while, as large bodies move slowly, ages are sometimes required to change the current of national habits

and prejudices. These, like the foot-steps of unknown animals, lately found on sand stone, sometimes survive the existence of the races that imprinted them ; puzzling Philosophy to conjecture by what strange creatures they were made, and by what magic preserved. When, as between the old and young bird, there is no requital or reciprocity of service, the parental office is, in due time, voluntarily relinquished ; but when the cares of maternity are to be superceded by the profits of complete command, the tender emotions of paternal anxiety are supplanted by the sordid calculations of the money changer, and every adult effort at emaucipation is circumvented by violence or fraud. Thus does mother Britain cajole whom she cannot force, and persuade us to have recourse to her forever, as to the great workshop of the world, where we may sell dearest and buy cheapest.

Even as far back as 1771, Boston's own son, the illustrious Franklin, "glory enough" for one city, even for Athens herself, to claim him as her own, said, in a letter to his friend in America, "every manufacturer encouraged in our country makes a part of a market for provisions within ourselves, and saves so much money to the country as must otherwise be exported to pay for the manufactures he supplies. Here in England, it is well known and understood that whenever a manufacture is established, which employs a number of hands, it raises the value of lands in the neighboring country all around it, partly by the greater demand near at hand, for the produce of the land, and partly from the plenty of money drawn by the manufacturer to that part of the country. It seems therefore the interest of all our farmers and owuers of land to encourage our young manufactures in preference to foreign ones, imported among us from distant countries."

It is that we may *consummate* our emancipation, that there is needed protection to the manufacturing and mechanical labor of the country, against the perpetual revulsions of Europe. At one time, iron is at \$40 or \$50 a ton, and we build furnaces; at another, it is down to \$25, and our furnace men are ruined. So is it with the makers of cloth, and miners of coal and of lead. Protection is needed, to enable men to live together—to enable them to diversify their pursuits, to combine their efforts for the production of wealth, for obtaining the means of instruction, for giving to themselves institutions like your own, and the thousands of others by which you are surrounded.

Before I conclude, allow me to offer a remark on two points, worthy of attention, as it seems to me, by all who take practical interest in the industrial character and pursuits of our country.

In Europe there exists, as you must be aware, among mechanics and others, much jealousy of *labor-saving machinery*, and the reason for this is to be found in the fact, that owing to the unsound policy of that country, labor and capital have been driven from the land—the great machine of production—to the work of transporting, converting and exchanging the produce of other lands. The employment afforded by the latter is limited when compared with that afforded by the former, and the consequence is, that when men are expelled from any description of employment, in consequence of the invention of a new machine, they find it very difficult to obtain employment elsewhere. Here, happily, this feeling has but limited existence, and ought to be discouraged where it does exist; and the reason is, that the freedom with which both labor and capital can be employed is so much greater than in Europe. There should be no such feel-

ing. All machinery that aids *production* is useful to the *consumer*—and all of us are consumers. The plough and the wagon are labor-saving machines—they aid the labor of the farmer, and enable him to supply the workman with food. The wagon and the railroad car aid him in bringing his wheat to market, and enable the workmen of Lowell to eat the cheap wheat of Illinois. Whereas, but for the existence of these labor-saving machines he might have to eat very dear wheat in Massachusetts. The loom, the spindle, the anvil, are all our labor-saving machines, and all tend to increase the quantity of good things to be divided, and the larger the quantity to be divided, the larger will be that which will fall to each.

There is also a jealousy of *immigrants*, but it is most groundless, and ought to be abandoned. If the immigrant does not work, he stands in the way of nobody, except as a pauper to be supported—if he does work, he produces something to be given in exchange for that which he desires to consume, and enables the holder of that which he needs, to obtain and own this that he himself earned, and thus exchanges go round. Every man is a consumer to the whole extent of his production. Every man is a customer for the products of the labor of others to precisely the same extent that he supplies the market with the products of his own labor. Expel the immigrant and there will be less produced; but there will also be so much less consumed. Of all the importations, then, the most valuable is the importation of men, and that policy the wisest which most contributes to attract them.

Fiually, my friends, we have heard much of late years about the *Destiny!* the *mission* of the United States! Now in contemplating the condition, the capabilities, and the free institutions, with which Providence has blessed

us, in an enlarged sense, as respects the true interests of the people, there are *two systems between which we have to choose*, and which, as they are diametrically opposed, must be, the one right for us, the other wrong. One looks to making us the mere growers and producers of raw materials for "the great workshop of the world," the other to our working up those materials for ourselves and the world, deriving all the profits of industry employed in carrying them through all the mutations of art, up to the high degree of perfection in which they have been presented at your noble exhibition of American manufactures.

The free trade system looks to the separation of the grower and producer from the manufacturer, thereby increasing the necessity for transportation, or what is commonly called commerce. The other system,—protection for our own labor,—looks to bringing the consumer to the side of the producer, and therefore, as I have explained, greatly augmenting the power to maintain commerce by multiplying the materials that form its elements. In the words of an able and lucid writer to whom I have already referred, "One looks to compelling us to under-work the Hindoo, and sinking all the world to his level. The other system looks to raising our standard above that of the oppressed nations of the world, and raising them to our level. One looks to pauperism, ignorance, depopulation and barbarism; the other to increasing wealth, comfort, intelligence, combination of action, and civilization. One looks to universal war, the other towards universal peace. One is the English system, the other we may be proud to call the American system, for it is the only one ever devised, the tendency of which is that of *elevating* while *equalizing* the condition of man throughout the world. To raise the value of labor

throughout the world, and thus to raise the value of man, we have only to raise the value of our own, by giving extension to domestic industry, thus enhancing the capacity of our customers, whether at home or abroad. To raise the value of land, we have only to adopt measures that shall raise the value of our own land throughout the country, as it has been prodigiously enhanced in Massachusetts, since you began to place the loom and the anvil close to the plough and the harrow. To promote the cause of morality and to diffuse intelligence throughout the world, we are only required to pursue the course that shall diffuse education throughout our own land, and that shall enable every man more readily to acquire property, and with it, respect for the rights of property. For wherever these are impaired, a blow is struck at the root of every useful growth, and society is fast retrograding towards military violence and barbarism. To improve the political condition of man throughout the world, it is needed that we ourselves should remain at peace, avoid taxation for the maintenance of fleets and armies, and become rich and prosperous. To raise the condition of woman throughout the world, it is required of us only that we pursue that course that enables men to remain at home and marry, that they may surround themselves with children and grand children. To substitute true christianity for the detestable system known as the Malthusian, which would persuade us that God makes men and women faster than he can feed them, it is needed that we prove to the world, that it is population that makes food, and that food tends to increase more rapidly than population, thus vindicating the policy of God to man. Doing these things, the addition to our population by immigration will speedily rise to millions, and with each and every year, the desire for that perfect freedom

of trade which results from incorporation within this great Union, will be seen to spread and to increase in its intensity; leading gradually to the establishment of an empire the most extensive and magnificent the world has yet seen, based upon the principles of maintaining peace itself, and strong enough to insist upon the maintenance of peace by others."

Talk of military conquests!—of conquests won at the cannon's mouth, in fields of blood and carnage! Why, Sir, the glory that may be won, by so administering a free government, as to make the country over which it presides, the great moral magnet of the civilized world;—saying to the lover of liberty, to genius, and to honest industry everywhere,—*come and welcome!* Abide within our borders, respect our laws, and we will protect and elevate you;—one hour of such renown for a country is more to be coveted by christian men, than a whole eternity of such glory as waits on conquest by force of arms. To offer such an asylum and such protection to the oppressed throughout the world is the true mission of the people of the United States.

Let us, my friends, heartily unite to consummate such a destiny for our country. Let History verify for the *United States*, the fine conception of a charming Poet of your own city; and make true in fact what is so beautiful in verse,

Fair to the eye, in thy grandeur thou art,
O doubly fair, doubly dear to the heart;
For to the exiled, the trodden, the poor,
Through the wide world, thou hast opened thy door;
Millions crowd in, and are welcomed by thee,
Land of the beautiful, land of the free.

Hail, then, Republic of Washington, hail!
Never may star of thy Union wax pale!
Hope of the world! May each omen of ill
Fade in the light of thy destiny still!
Time bring but increase and honor to thee,
Land of the beautiful, land of the free!

ORDER OF EXERCISES,
AT THE
HALL OF THE LOWELL INSTITUTE,
Thursday Evening, September 19th, 1850,
ON OCCASION OF THE
SIXTH EXHIBITION
OF THE
Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association.

VOLUNTARY UPON THE ORGAN.

CHORUS—HAIL TO THEE, LIBERTY!" &c.

PRAYER, BY REV. MR. HUNTINGTON.

ODE, BY EPES SARGENT.

The camp has had its day of song;
The sword, the bayonet, the plume
Have crowded out of rhyme too long
The plough, the anvil and the loom!
O, not upon our tented fields
Are Freedom's heroes bred alone;
The training of the work-shop yields
More heroes true than War has known!

Who drives the bolt, who shapes the steel,
May, with a heart as valiant, smite,
As he, who sees a focman reel
In blood before his blow of might!
The skill that conquers space and time.
That graces life, that lightens toil,
May spring from courage more sublime
Than that, which makes a realm its spoil.

Let, Labor, then, look up and see.
 His craft no pith of honor lacks ;
 'The soldier's rifle yet shall be
 Less honored than the woodman's axe !
 Let Art his own appointment prize,
 Nor deem that gold or outward height
 Can compensate the worth that lies
 In tastes that breed their own delight.

And may the time draw nearer still
 When men this sacred truth shall heed.
 That from the thought and from the will
 Must all that raises man proceed !
 Though Pride should hold our calling low,
 For us shall duty make it good ;
 And we from truth to truth shall go
 Till life and death are understood.

ADDRESS, BY JOHN S. SKINNER, Esq.

SOLO AND CHORUS,

"O'ER FOREST, O'ER MOUNTAIN AND MEADOW," &c.

BENEDICTION, BY REV. A. L. STONE.